361
351 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck, bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

366
368 Since there is little activity in the village other than farming, neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

929
362 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11, 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs. War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
419 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages
361 and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
351 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
227 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
517 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably
484 different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining
[311] agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from
574 Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

727 The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro.
[361] Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Village Shops and Businesses

Village stores, small in number and modest in size, furnish their own people many essential services, but the offerings differ from place to place in number and kind, so that there are always commercial contacts of a sort with nearby villages or towns. This is brought out in the accompanying table of business and personal service establishments in each of the villages.

Village Shops, Businesses, Personal Service Enterprises

Type	Number of Enterprises in:			
	Hanashiro	Hinatogawa	Nagamo	Matsuda
Rice Mills	1	a/	a/	1
Sugar Mills	1		1	3
Small Retail Shops	3	5	3	5
Power Plant		1	b/	1
Import Store	c/	1	b/	1
Saw Mill				1
Blacksmith	d/	d/	1	
Retail Butcher Shop		1		
Motion Picture Theatre	e/	e/	e/	f/
Public Bath House	b/	2	b/	1/
Village Inn		1		f/
Eating Places		1		
Barbershop	g/	e/	a/	1

a No need for rice mills, no rice grown
b Served by Hinatogawa
c In nearby Asato
d Nagamo serves these and other villages in the township
e In Horikawa, opposite Hinatogawa
f Served by Ginoza village
g Served by Gushichan village

Rice mills (seimaisho) are recent in rural Okinawa. The mill in Hanashiro was installed in 1940. It serves nearby villages. The mill in Matsuda, also a recent introduction, is more modern. In each case, the mill has two machines of Japanese manufacture, one for hulling, the other for polishing.

Sugar mills (seitojo) vary in quality in the communities. Hanashiro has a machine for crushing cane. In Matsuda, war destruction

1:Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

I

Community Recreation

Were it not for the public holidays and festivals, the family celebrations and informal social gatherings, opportunities for recreation would be very limited. Seeing a Japanese motion picture usually involves going to another village. Young people, especially those studying English, go to American movies in Naha when they can afford it. Many went to see Hamlet when it played there.

A Naha troupe presents plays in the rural villages. These appearances are advertised by a sound truck travelling throughout the countryside. Plays are of two main types: the historical drama and those of domestic life and manners. The historical plays are usually based on the heroic age in Okinawa, and are so filled with episodes and sword play that it is difficult, even for an Okinawan, to follow the plot. All plays are given in Okinawan.

The plot of a play of manners is of more interest, since it is concerned with the conflicts of obligations, duties, and personal desires. One such play, The Chaste Woman and the Dutiful Son, concerns a married couple who have one son. The husband drank too much and went with another woman. The wife objected, the husband tells her he no longer wants her and desires a divorce. The divorce attained, he takes the other woman as a second wife and moves with her to Nago, where he lives. Twenty years after, the second wife becomes ill, and dies, and the husband finds it increasingly difficult to earn a livelihood. The first wife, in the meantime, anxious to bring up her child well, has sent him to school. At the age of 20 he has become a school teacher. The successful young man--becoming a teacher is a great success--marries. The young couple have a child and everyone is happy.

The father in Nago earns a precarious living selling firewood. One day he reads of the success of his son in a newspaper. (This provides the actor with an opportunity for exaggerated astonishment and much staggering around). More soberly, the father decides to visit the first wife and their son. Lack of pride and poverty permits him to do this.

The first wife gives him an angry reception. When he has forced his way into the house, there is a loud quarrel. The successful young school teacher returns home, sees the quarrel, and asks his mother the identity of the man. The mother replies that she does not know him. The son inquires the reason for such a violent quarrel between his mother and a stranger. The mother had previously told her son his father had died. She now says she lied, and in the ensuing revelations, the son weeps a little. The father implores his son to intervene in obtaining the forgiveness of his former wife. But she will not forgive--neither will she forget--and does not want the old man around at all. The son

575 [512] Friendships formed here and in school are the basis of later lifelong associations.

Young Women's Associations (joshiseinen) are not so well developed. Hanashiro has none. In Minatogawa the young men's and the young women's groups are combined. Matsuda has a separate organization of girls from 17 to 23. The latter age is considered the probable date of marriage, when the young woman will enter the Women's Association. Their duties parallel those of the young men: village maintenance, selling firewood, planting sugar cane, taking part in harvest ceremonies and participating with the young men in the New Year's party.

[368] In the villages, a volunteer organization is responsible for fire fighting. The fire brigades (sobodan) usually are under the direction of the young men's association. The village gong is sounded, the volunteers assemble, and the fire is put out by using a bucket brigade.

[177] Parent Teacher Associations, after the American model, have been formed in the rural area, but it is too early to form a judgment of their effectiveness.

575 621 There are also the neighborhood associations. A village is divided into areas or zones (han), each with its own head (hanchō). Neighborhood groups had existed before the introduction of the Japanese neighborhood association (tonari gumi) in about 1935 or 1936. These older groups (kumi) had from 30 to 70 families, each with a head (kumichō). These groups often assisted in a family crisis, with housebuilding, or furnished pallbearers for a funeral.

Before and during the war, the Japanese used the neighborhood associations in their rationing, food distribution, civil defense, and other programs.

[632] The neighborhood associations remained after the war, but they are now known as hans. The leader of each neighborhood group is a link in the chain of communication from the township office to the individual villager. The township mayor transmits a new regulation or a directive from a higher governmental authority to each village headman who informs the heads of each of the neighborhood groups, who can then tell the people living in his area. The people within a neighborhood group may also co-operate with one another in housebuilding. The young men may be pallbearers for a deceased resident of the neighborhood. The group head also informs the people of village meetings (jōkai). These heads may be elected, but usually they serve by rotation (kotai), with a change every three months. In Matsuda, the group head is selected for one year and household heads service under him for one month in rotation to perform stand-by (tōban suru, to be on duty) duties and help the neighborhood head in his work.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

873 [368]

Hanashiro the children take the short walk to primary and junior high school at Gushichan village; for senior high school they go to Chinen, 5 or 6 miles away. Most of them walk. Matsuda has an elementary school with the junior and senior high schools at Ginoza village, about 1 1/2 miles away. In senior high school, there is more specialization. The general science course is divided into physics (butsuri), chemistry (kagaku), and biology (seibutsu). Mathematics is split up into geometry (kika) and algebra (daisu). There is further instruction in agriculture for the boys, some for the girls. The girls continue with domestic science, including sewing.

In the secondary schools, vocational education is well represented in the curriculum. The courses are planned as a preparation for the type of work students will do as adults in a village. The instructors seem competent although the subject matter does not include modern advances. There should not, in my opinion, be a further growth in vocational at the expense of general education, except after careful study of long term requirements. The great masses of people will continue to depend on agriculture, forestry, and to some extent on fishing for their existence, and vocational education should be built around a recognition of these facts. It should concentrate on supplying new knowledge related to these main fields. [875] 114

New technical skills that we desire to develop should be governed by these considerations: (1) the improvement of agriculture, forestry, and fishing. (2) The long range plans of the military and civil administration and the skills they will require. (3) New skills that will be needed with any development of foreign trade or of local industrialization.

Vocational education also should be developed along lines consistent with the type of professional training we are prepared to encourage. If biologists, botanists, agriculturalists, soil scientists, foresters, statisticians, social scientists are being trained, vocational and technical education should also follow along these general lines to create a source both of initial interest and of possible technicians to assist the professional workers. This would also apply to the public health fields, such as nurses' aides, midwives, laboratory technicians.

The distinguishing feature of the new education (shinkyoiku) is the introduction of democratic ideas (minshushugi). The status of girl students and of women teachers has also changed. Before the war, the children were taught in the same room, but the boys and girls were separated. Now there is no segregation. Women teachers' salaries, formerly about 20% less than the mens', are now the same. 871 [562] [875]

3

Schools and the Teacher

358

There is much more to a school day than actual instruction. The

called for 'awamori'. After a few drinks he asked in a fairly serious manner, "Have you bought a woman yet during your stay? You really ought to try an Okinawan woman before you go." His daughter-in-law and two half-grown sons looked on in amusement. The question is not uncommon; on another occasion it was, "Have you tasted Okinawan women?" 831 522

In common talk, and perhaps in feeling, sex seems to be identified almost wholly with prostitution and the sex act with the hiring of a juri. The sight of a seed boar being led across a field evoked the comment, "That pig's a man; he's on his way to buy a woman." Perhaps the above statement should be narrowed down to something like: the pleasurable aspects of sex are identified with prostitution. And sexual pleasure, like the pleasures of eating and drinking, singing and dancing, is something that guests may be treated to. (Hence the concern that the visitor sample all the pleasures that Okinawa offers and a pride in those for which it is famous.) In view of the fact that children grow up hearing about juri and jurinuyaa and associating them with other pleasures before they have any notion of their sexual functions, it is not surprising that when they become adults they display attitudes that are different from those found among Americans. 548 831

Before the war in the Tsuji district of Naha there were about three thousand juri.[1] The district was the center of the social life of the men of the upper classes. Business men, government officials, and teachers were entertained there. No doubt all did not "buy" juri, but sex was one of the principal commodities dispensed there. Also it is unlikely that the average farmer ever went there, but the indications are that he would have if he could have. A man is expected to want these things if he can afford them. The values of the farmer are not likely to be very different from those of the better-off city man. The jurinuyaa has played an important role in Okinawa society in the past and is not likely to disappear very soon. [565] [184]

Maturity and Old Age: Associations Men may continue to belong to the 'Seinenkai' until thirty; women drop out at marriage. The reason that men stay longer may be to give greater continuity to the organization and to provide older members as leaders, but in view of the recreational activities of the organization it seems as likely that the rule is merely a part of the general tendency to give more freedom to men and more responsibility to women. 575 562

Adult Associations ('Seijinkai') are said to exist in some villages but are not of any great importance. Associations formed by persons of the same age ('dōnenkai') also exist. In Japan such organizations are often composed of persons who were in the same class in school[2]; on Okinawa the number of older persons who attended school probably does not permit the formation of very large associations. The tendency among younger persons is not very noticeabe. Younger men may organize 'shōbōkai', volunteer fire brigades; such an organization patrolled the streets of Ishikawa nightly. We did not see any evidence of the persistence of any organizations based on former military service; the Japanese Army Reservists' Association may never have been very active on Okinawa. 575 [171] [368] [177]

1 Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

2 Embree, 1939, p. 163ff.

642 highly structured system; the overall impression is of rule by bureaucracy. Most importantly the average individual accepts all of this as in the natural ordering of things. The best possible relationship of the state to the peo- [181] ple is thought to be a paternalistic one, like father to children. Such an attitude is wholly in keeping with a culture which has traditionally stressed family and community over individual, and obligations over rights.

632 'Son' Government The administrative center of every 'son' is the township office ('sonyakuba') which serves as the connecting link between the people of its villages and the central government in Naha. The main functions of this office are to transmit and implement the directives and laws of the central government to the people, to collect taxes, and to keep records---the most important of these being the household registry ('koseki') and land records ('tochi daichō'). The size of the office staff is largely determined by the township size; in the larger townships there are many departments and employees, but in a small 'son' several departments may be grouped under a single head.

632 344 [365] The building housing this office is usually a single-storied structure located in the largest village of the township; a post office, school, agricultural office, and store are often nearby. The interior of the office building is one large room sometimes sub-divided into smaller offices by the use of screens; one end of the room is set aside for meetings. On the exterior of the building along one side the names of the various departments are above the windows. When a villager calls at the office on business, he ordinarily does not enter the building but stands outside the window appropriate to his business until a clerk or official of that department opens it and speaks to him.

632 554 At the head of the township government is the 'sonchō' ('son' mayor), who in addition to directing its affairs functions as the liaison between the 'son' and the central government. It was the author's impression after spending considerable time in one 'son' office and visiting several others that the 'sonchō' is usually a very busy man and that he is more often away from his office than in it. In addition to directing the activities of his office, he makes numerous inspections within the township, attends meetings and conferences in other parts of the island, and once a month participetes in a council of all the mayors of the municipalities, which is held in Naha. The latter enables the mayors of the municipalities to discuss common problems and to come in contact with the officials of the central government. Three times each month he meets with the mayors ('kuchō') of the villages within his township for a discussion of local problems. It is said that the office can be a stepping stone for the politically ambitious since his activities bring a wide range of contacts; this cannot be said for any other office in the 'son' or 'ku'. During the course of his research on Okinawa the author met the mayors of five or six municipalities, and in all cases he was impressed by the intelligence and ability of these men. A mayor is elected for a term of four years and is eligible for reelection.

632 The chief lieutenants of the 'sonchō' are the assistant mayor ('joyaku') and the revenue officer or treasurer ('shūnyūyaku'); the latter usually directs all financial matters, and his major function is tax collection and